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Watch Out, The Chinese Are Coming! *Philip Ben*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — September 20, 1969, 40 cents

Into the Breach

Richard Nixon has had eight months in which to pry us loose from the trap in Vietnam and has not done it. He has promised withdrawals and ordered some, but over a half million US troops remain. He has said that "the greatest honor history can bestow is the title of 'peacemaker,'" but he marches to the drums of the generals in Saigon and on his Asian trip described Vietnam as America's "finest hour." The only force that can assuredly move him to get us out is public opinion, fed up finally with the killing of 39,000 Americans and the wounding of a quarter of a million more. It is the mobilization of that political power that now has highest priority, and it is the college and university communities that can help do it. They mean to. "Ending the war in Vietnam is the most important task facing the American people." So begins the call for an October 15 Moratorium signed by 500 student leaders, student body presidents and college editors at over 200 colleges, in which they ask for a cessation of "business as usual" on the campuses that day. In past decades, American students have, by and large, stood aside from politics. A lively (Continued on page 5)

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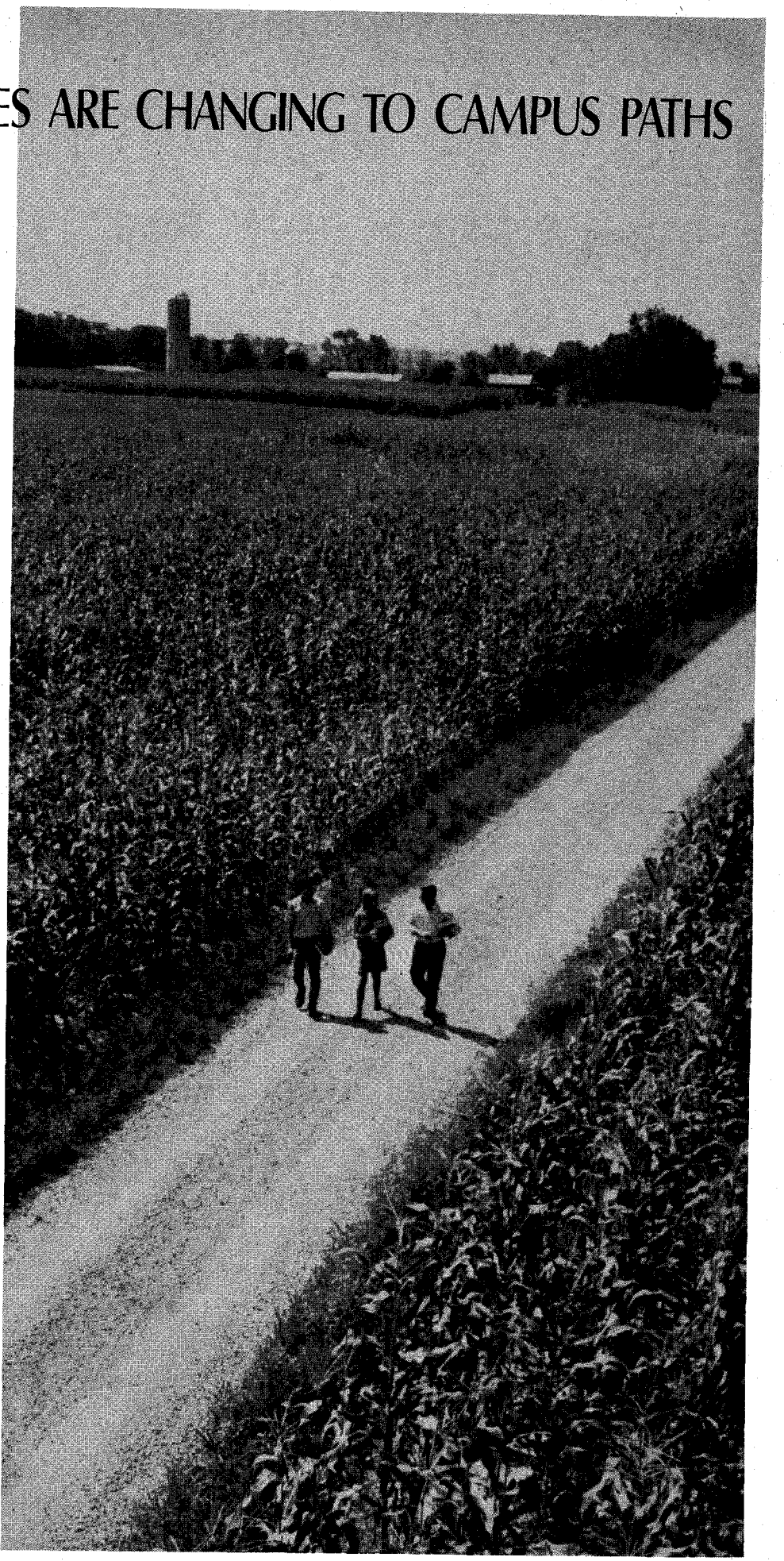

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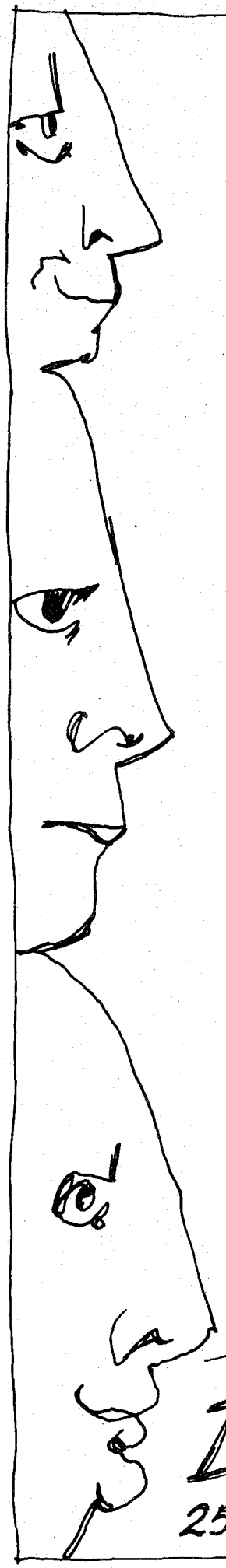

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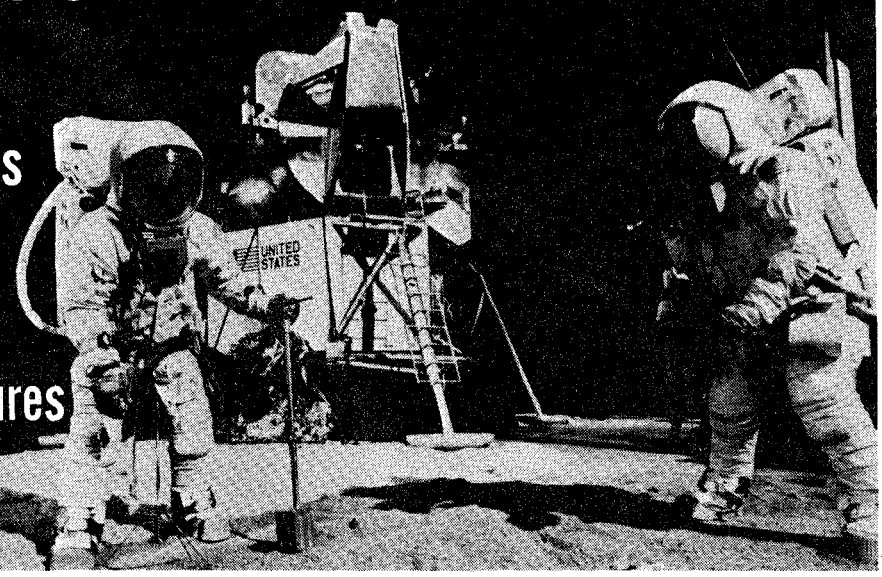

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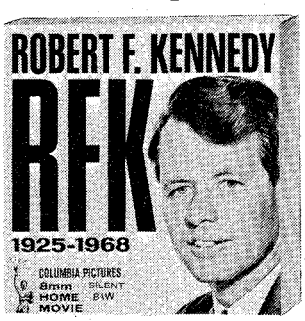

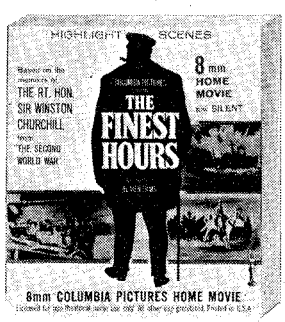

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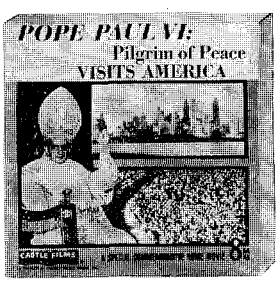

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Incompetence, sinecurism, waste, remoteness from the rank and file, misuse of union funds and violations of democratic electoral procedures in an epidemic manner have become a way of life for W. A. Boyle's administration. —Ralph Nader, May 22, 1969.

One of the few respects in which W. A. Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers, measures up to his majestic predecessor, John L. Lewis, is in the low respect both showed for the exercise of rank and file democracy—The New York Times, *August 13, 1969.*

Today, other unionists regard the UMW as a cruel joke. . . . The Mine Workers today live as a virtual recluse, isolated almost completely from the rest of the labor movement.—The Washington Post, *June 15, 1969.*

The UMW leadership, enjoying its high salaries, special benefits and nepotism, has lost contact with the rank and file. — The New Republic, *August 2, 1969.*

The United Mine Workers leadership is not noted for its zeal in looking after its rank and file. But when it comes to looking after itself the leadership really has the ginger. . . . If the UMW leadership were as concerned with the welfare of the membership as it is with feathering its own nest, coal mining might not be the dangerous and hopeless occupation it is.—Broadcast editorial, WTOP-TV, Washington, D. C., May 2, 1969.

"What Are You Doing Here In The Upper Areas?"

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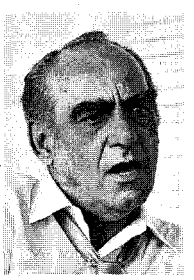
THE COAL MINERS OF AMERICA NEED YOUR HELP!



Joseph A. Yablonski, one of the few elected members of the union's executive board, has been nominated to run against Boyle in the UMW national election in December. His platform, which one congressman called "a veritable Magna Carta for the coal miners of America," promises sweeping reforms to return control of the union to the working men.

With almost no money and a staff consisting mainly of volunteers, Yablonski is facing a rugged, uphill fight against an entrenched hierarchy which has shown it will stop at nothing to defeat him. Since Boyle appoints virtually all union officials (an illegal practice which Yablonski has promised to eliminate), he has a ready-made regiment of campaign workers who know that Yablonski's election would mean the end of patronage in the UMW. So far, their actions have produced four official complaints to the Labor Department, detailing election abuses ranging from embezzlement of union funds for Boyle's campaign and bribery of rank and file miners to physical assault on Yablonski and intimidation of his supporters. Despite thorough documentation of the charges, including cancelled checks, the Labor Department has said it will not act until after the election.

Without your help Joseph Yablonski stands little chance of overcoming the long odds against him. Already, Boyle has hired two professional PR men and mounted an expensive publicity effort to camouflage his regressive record. He is also using the union's official publication, the UMW Journal, as his personal campaign mouthpiece while refusing to allow even a single mention of Yablonski's candidacy to be printed.

We of the Committee for a Responsive UMW were active in the fight for black lung legislation in West Virginia. We learned first hand how callous the union hierarchy has grown toward the needs of the working men. We believe the election of Joseph Yablonski is the only hope for returning the union to the miners and making it again the progressive force it once was. Tony Boyle is not a humble man. His re-election would be taken as a vindication of his policies and would only harden his already recalcitrant attitude toward reform. Jock Yablonski has the issues on his side and with your help he can win.

Dr. Robert Coles — Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Counsel — Rep. Ken Hechler

Dr. Donald L. Rasmussen — Dr. Hawey A. Wells

Jeanne M. Rasmussen, Treasurer
Committee for a Responsive UMW
P. O. Box 1224
Beckley, West Virginia 25801

I want to help coal miners win back the control of the UMW.

I enclose $ _____.

Name _____

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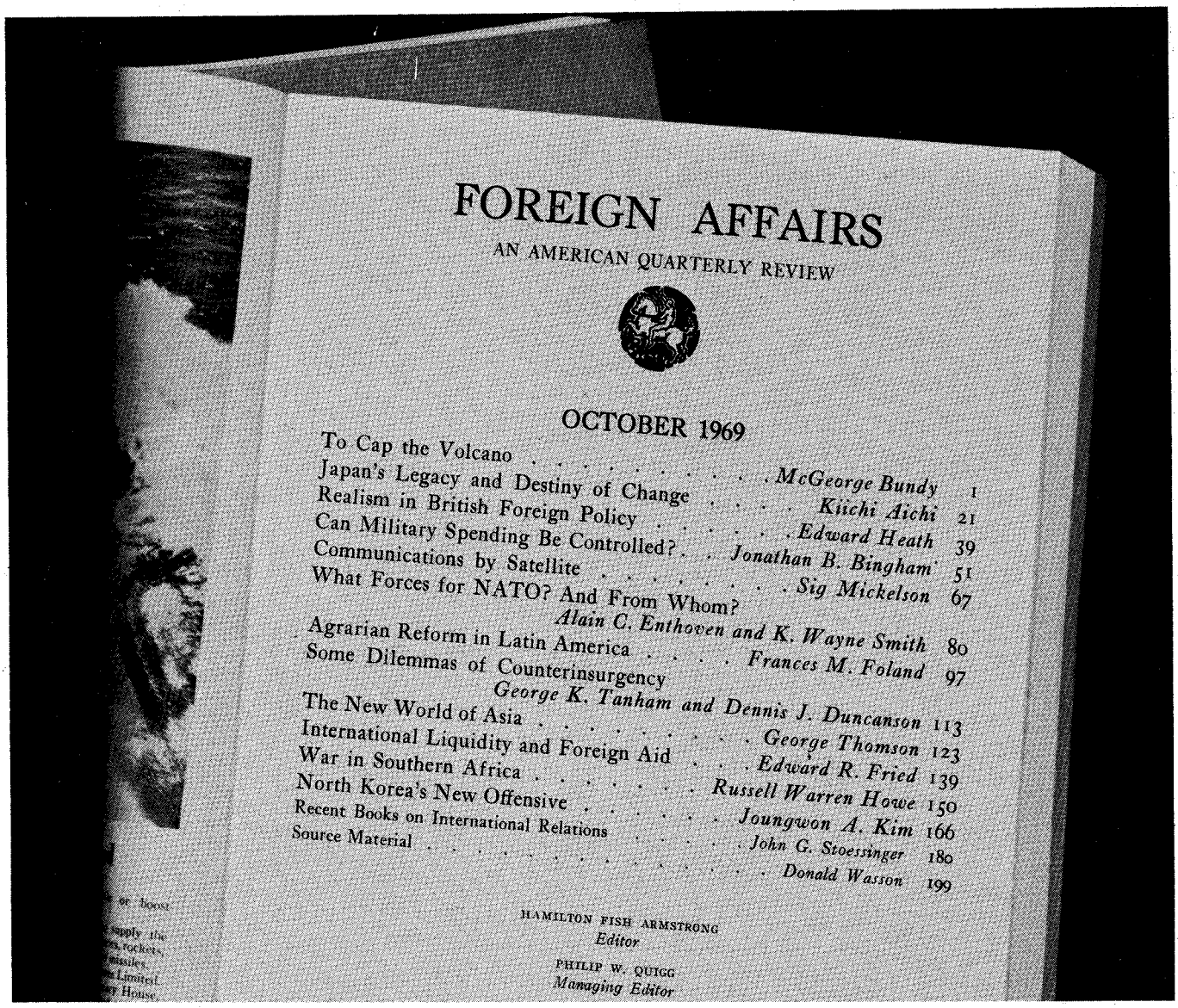
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Prophesy

War comes closer in the Middle East, whether it can be contained nobody knows. In China some think Russia may make a preemptive strike, nuclear weapons possible. In Vietnam we are trying to extricate ourselves from a dirty little seven-year war, with a new immediate troop withdrawal likely. The weakness of our moral position from the first in Vietnam (unlike Korea) is UN neutrality.

The world is stacked with powder and flames flickering all around. We had 21 years of peace between World Wars I and II, and since then another 25 year interval of "peace," if you want to call it that. Are we ready for No. III? Big nations are rebuilt, man's competitive killer instinct has rested for some time. We live comfortably under these risks, like an anthill on a volcano. We send men to the moon and smile at the population war between tiny El Salvador and Honduras, which big powers quickly quash. Only large nations should be allowed to fight. (World population meanwhile is doubling every 30-35 years, but few hear the tick of the Malthusian time bomb.)

So that's the general picture. Apprehensively, *The New York Times* last week noted Israel's raid into Egypt and editorialized that somebody ought to do something about it; otherwise we might have general conflict. Who should act? Why, the UN of course; the General Assembly meets again this month. It is adept at wrist-slapping. It isn't really global; it omits nations. Every year the US leads the drive to exclude China, in defiance of the theory of universality. China probably wouldn't enter anyway and our rigid position against a nation with one-quarter of the world's population probably aids Mao's domestic prestige.

If the drift to war in the Middle East is to be halted, the *Times* says, the UN "must act now to place peace-keeping forces in the field sufficient to maintain the UN-mandated truce." The world community, it says, should also throw its weight into restraining Arabs and Israelis.

Does anybody expect this to happen? Well, perhaps not, but at least we have little else to look to. It's the poor old UN or nothing – a rather funny organization until you think of the nuclear alternative.

Sometimes people learn from history; not very much, but it is always possible. Fifty years ago this month Woodrow Wilson left Washington, Sept. 4, to whistle-stop the country for US adherence to the League of Nations. World government had been a vision in men's minds for a thousand years. Now Wilson staked everything to achieve it. His trip across America was one of the most extraordinary things in our history.

Youth was not alienated then, it was borne aloft by the mighty phrases of Wilsonian idealism. It did not resist the draft, it rushed to enlist; youth was as patriotic then as it is now, no more or less, but then it knew what it was fighting for. It was intoxicated with the notion of sacrifice. No doubt propagandists manipulated the public to near-hysteria, but at the heart of the thing was Wilson who believed with Calvinistic intensity that he could end war forever by showing mankind what was in its own interest.

When has mankind ever done what was in its own interest? Wilson was faced by a group of Republican isolationists who had just captured both houses of Congress (the Senate 49-47), which made small, goat-bearded, New England Brahmin, Henry Cabot Lodge; chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. He was a hard-line conservative and imperialist. He despised the League and hated Wilson. He set his plans with malignant ingenuity.

It is interesting to compare Woodrow Wilson with Richard Nixon, they are so unlike. Wilson was clear-cut as a laser beam. Nixon is foggy. Wilson was lifted by Utopian idealism; Nixon is pragmatic. Wilson was intense, Nixon tried to be cool and relaxed (though whether he is inside nobody knows).

Wilson could catch men up in mighty phrases, and became the greatest leader of the plain people since Lincoln. Nixon speaks a kind of ghost-writer White House-ese that often leaves you uncertain where he stands. Ambiguity has its charm. It is like the foggy focus of last summer's snapshots. You know Uncle Henry is there holding the fish, but you aren't quite sure which is the fish and which is Uncle Henry.

Wilson had a sporting chance to get ratification. People wanted it. A poll of the country's newspapers by the *Literary Digest* showed 718 for, 181 against, and 478 conditional. Lodge and Borah agreed that the treaty could not be defeated by a frontal attack; the strategy of reservations was adopted. Here was Wilson's weak point. He loved humanity but individuals bored him; he could be noble but also vindictive. And he loathed compromise with arrogant superiority.

"If Wilson had been willing to accept a few reservations," sighs historian Sam Eliot Morison, "he could have obtained ratification that summer." No soap, said Wilson!

Wilson was the type who could take a nation to the mountaintop and show it a promised land. But he could also shove it off the cliff. Such men are thrilling but the nation senses that they are dangerous. Mr. Nixon is a safer type. Offered courses 1 to 10 he will always choose No. 5. Even in the election we did not know where he stood; we do not know now. He is not the mountain-climbing type. His occupational hazard is national boredom.

"I can predict with absolute certainty," cried Wilson, Sept. 8, at Omaha, "that within another generation there will be another World War if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it."

While on the train bound for Wichita, Wilson had a debilitating stroke and had to abandon his tour. That was Sept. 26, 1919. The war he predicted came punctually, Sept. 1, 1939. As for World War III? Well, we have the UN.

Note: What a twisted grin Ev Dirksen would give over some of those mawkish elegies! He was a wheeler-dealer of the old school; a kind of W. C. Fields of the Senate, with a wink at the press gallery as he delivered some grandiloquent hyperbole. A moment of splendor came to him when he helped pass the 1964 Civil Rights bill. How colorless the Senate now seems.

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Into the Breach

student movement emerged out of the depression in the thirties, but it was short-lived, and insofar as it was a peace movement, it was caught between its pacifist origins, the intrigue of the Communist Party, and the anti-Fascist exigencies of the time. It had little faculty support and was lost in the vortex of World War II. Efforts to revive it in the immediate post-war period fell victim to McCarthyism and the blandishments of an affluent society. It was the war in Vietnam more than anything else which fired a resurgence of student activism. For Vietnam has never been an extracurricular question – and not only because it is the young who fight wars. Even if graduate student deferments had not been disallowed, the American university could not remain apathetic; just because millions of students are preoccupied with the question of how *not* to serve in the military, but because this war is offensive to their deepest moral and intellectual standards.

Students have given a sound lesson in political courage and social responsibility to their teachers. And the teachers have responded. Strong forces have emerged in recent months within the teaching profession, capable of commanding the attention of their colleagues and of persuading them that the war and all the constructive work at home which it blocks is of vital concern. This awakening was much in evidence this summer in meetings of mathematicians, psychologists, political scientists, sociologists, microbiologists and at the conventions of the Modern Language Association and the American Physical Society. As with the student protesters of the preceding academic year, the dissenting academy this summer was addressing itself to urban decay, racism, the electoral process, pollution, violence, the militarization of our society. But underlying all else was a revulsion against the war. The October 15 Moratorium will provide the first major test of an emerging student-faculty consensus.

The Moratorium has the support of the National Student Association, and as of last week, plans were being laid on 400 campuses for college convocations to discuss the war and related issues. In most places the students will also be messengers to adjacent communities, moving into shopping centers, bowling alleys, factories, and homes, endorsing US withdrawal.

We reported last spring on the all-college convocation at Amherst,

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and its resolution that as long as Vietnam goes on, the campus cannot, will not, and should not carry on as usual. Student unrest, the president of the College then said in a letter to President Nixon, "will continue until you and the other political leaders of our country address more effectively, massively and persistently the major social and foreign problems of our society." Vietnam comes first. To say that is not at all to say that the war is the root cause of all our disabilities. It is to say that without an end to the war we cannot begin to take hold of our other problems. Because the Amherst statement helped to set a true perspective for the society and identify the source of campus turmoil, we hailed it and urged other colleges and universities to "start planning a reproduction [in the fall], each in his own way, of the Amherst convocation."

The war drags on. But the October 15 Moratorium is an occasion for renewed resistance. The decision of the Moratorium leaders not to restrict their evangelizing to the academy is sound. Nothing but a broadly based movement has much chance of pushing the Nixon Administration to get us out, and to put aside the illusion that public opinion can be tranquilized by token withdrawals or hands placed on hearts. Although it would be impressive were a majority of American colleges and universities to act as one on October 15, each institution will inevitably proceed in its own manner. The particular ways students, faculty, administrators (and trustees) spend that day matter less than that the time is used to dramatize the most solemn will of the academy for peace.

The university is not normally organized – and in our opinion should not normally be organized – to function as a political institution. But the times are abnormal. It is the principal custodians of the public interest – the politicians – who are most responsible for that, not the custodians of enlightenment. The academy has been left no choice but to engage itself in the democratic process, to demonstrate the power of knowledge, to provide a model of rational discourse and persuasion. We hope that every member of the academic community, from the youngest freshmen to the most august college president and trustee, will move into the breach. The planned, one-day national convocation of the community of scholars on October 15 is their opportunity. Seize it.

Ted Kennedy

Two months after the fact, it is plain enough that Senator Edward Kennedy and his advisors blundered badly in the hours and days following the accidental death of Mary Jo Kopechne. They did not come clean at once, they deliberated at the Kennedy compound, they planned strategy as if this were a Cuban missile crisis. But what was there to plan in this most personal and dreadful affair?

In the explanation then produced a week later, the Senator admitted his guilt in not reporting the accident immediately. It was "indefensible." He did not in his statement "tell all," but the privacy of even a United States Senator is entitled to some respect. Moreover, some of those details might have incriminated people who foolishly and irresponsibly and perhaps culpably helped him during that confused night and in the days thereafter – not only Mr. Gargan and Mr. Markham, but perhaps others too, including some of the girls. There was a point of decency involved here. It was nonsense, however, for the Senator to claim that it would have been improper of him to speak out earlier, while a charge against him was still pending. Nothing in law or custom prevents a defendant from putting his case publicly, if it is a matter of public interest. At any rate, the Senator did admit to the only legal charge made against him – that he left the scene of an accident. The two-month suspended sentence imposed on him was customary for a first offender. Had he been treated otherwise, it would have been unusual.

There remains a possibility that Kennedy is guilty of a more serious offense – negligent homicide. That is a felony, punishable by two or three years in jail. Kennedy anticipated that possible charge in his September 25 TV statement. He denied all the elements out of which it could be made. And the Edgartown chief of police backed him up: he had no reason to think that Kennedy could be held legally responsible for Miss Kopechne's death.

But that was not enough for District Attorney Edmund Dinis. No comment is needed on the ghoulish allegation that some fact relevant to the Senator's innocence or guilt of some criminal charge could be proved or disproved by an examination at this point of what remains of Miss Kopechne. Nevertheless, Mr. Dinis called for an autopsy and an inquest. He had every right to enter the case. But a district attorney who has sufficient evidence or even substantial enough doubts to justify proceeding against a possible defendant, normally conducts a private, not a public, investigation, the results of which lead him either to drop the matter, or to try to get an indictment – a process which is also secret. What Mr. Dinis did instead was to order a hearing that would have amounted to nothing more than a fishing expedition with Kennedy as the fish to be caught and fried. So far as any rights for a defendant are concerned, the right to cross-examine or to bring witnesses, an inquest is to all intents and purposes the equivalent of a public hearing before Joe McCarthy; the prospective defendant is on display for the delectation of a prurient public, and while that sells newspapers and jumps TV ratings, it has nothing to do with

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justice. As for charity, who are its constituents?

We can see no good reason why Senator Kennedy should now willingly expose himself to an inquest procedure that has not been used in any comparable situation in Massachusetts during this century. The law of Massachusetts provides better ways, conformable to people's rights, of charging a man with a criminal offense, if he indeed is so chargeable, which Kennedy has denied.

Tax Politics

The tax debate in Congress has become a squabble over who is to get what preferred treatment. The White House would do less than the House of Representatives for low and middle income taxpayers, but it would do more for corporations. The Administration would be a bit kinder than the House to tax-exempt organizations. There isn't much disagreement over taking six or so million persons with very little income off income tax rolls completely, or over preventing the extremely rich from paying no taxes at all. But the debate is largely irrelevant to checking inflation and to the need for a much larger investment in housing, transport, education, and care for the indigent, the unskilled and the sick. Tax reform has become tax reduction, and that's not what is needed now. Indeed, by placing more purchasing power in the hands of consumers it could well stimulate more inflation; and by decreasing revenues available to the federal government for domestic renewal (by $1.3 billion if the President has his way, and by $2.4 billion if the House prevails), the proposed legislation dims the already faint chance for safer, cleaner, more congenial communities.

Perhaps the Administration believes that by fiscal 1971, when the tax reform legislation would presumably come into effect, it will have inflation licked – a questionable assumption. Or perhaps the Administration believes that by then the Vietnam war will be over. Even if the war has been ended, and inflation has begun to come under control, and additional funds are available in the federal budget, the proposed tax changes are ill-advised. At present, we have a very low federal tax base, considering the size of our gross national product. If we are worried about price stabilization, why put the whole burden of fighting inflation on high interest rates, as we are doing? A tighter fiscal policy and higher taxes, even if we are not spending them, would be a more effective mix. And considering that we want and need to spend those taxes, there is even less economic justification, and so in the long run less political justification, for the tax policies now being considered by the Congress.

Lippmann at 80

"I suppose," Walter Lippmann said on the occasion of this journal's fiftieth birthday, "I should take some kind of notice of the fact that I am the last of the original editors of *The New Republic* who is still at large. I have decided that there is no reason to be self-conscious about a natural event which I have no more reason to boast of than if, by seniority, I had become Chairman of a Standing Committee of the Senate." Mr. Lippmann will no doubt accept the "natural event" of his eightieth birthday, on the 23rd of this month, with comparable equanimity.

When, before the first World War, Lincoln Steffens asked friends at Harvard to name the young man with "the ablest mind that could express itself in writing," everybody agreed on Lippmann, who "caught on right away. Keen, quiet, industrious, he understood the meaning of all that he learned."

No one better expressed the intent of *The New Republic* (though not always its performance) when, in February of 1914, Lippmann wrote to the literary historian, Van Wyck Brooks to announce the starting of "a weekly of ideas" which might be able "to put a critical clinch in the discussion and infuse American emotions with American thought." Five years ago, Mr. Lippmann returned to that hope: *The New Republic* "was meant to be what it now is – the organ of no party, of no faction, of no sect and of no cause, concerned not with liberalism and progressivism and conservatism as ideologies, but with all of them in the prospective of the tradition of civility in our Western society."

It is, of course, not for his early writings in *The New Republic* or his subsequent editorship of the *New York World* that Mr. Lippmann is celebrated, but for his books and columns, and it is no casual compliment to say that they have not become stale. Places, people, transient causes are dated, but rarely the ideas. He wondered in *A Preface to Politics* (1913), for instance, "why this age should have come to be what it is, why at this particular time the whole drift of thought should be from authority to autonomy. Perhaps the Modern Period, with its flexibility, sense of change, and desire for self-direction is a liberation due to the great surplus of wealth. Perhaps the ease of travel, the popularizing of knowledge, the breakdown of frontiers have given us a new interest in human life by showing how temporary are all its instruments. Certainly placid or morose acceptance is undermined. If men remain slaves either to ideas or to other men, it will because they do not know they are slaves. Their intention is to be free. Their desire is for a full and expressive life and they do not relish a lopsided and lamed humanity. For the age is rich with varied and generous passions." He has always addressed himself

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to possibilities – not imaginings. In *Drift and Mastery* (1914), he wrote that life to the man who lives without question from day to day, "is just one thing after another; to the mere dreamer, it is harsh and unyielding. But to the creative imagination fact is plastic, and ready to be molded by him who understands it. The genius among politicians is he who can deal in his own time with the social forces that lead to a better one."

But all depends on awareness, of self and of the realities around us. Whereas, "the function of news is to signalize an event, the function of truth is to bring to light the hidden facts, to set them in relation to each other, and to make a picture of reality on which men can act. . . . It is possible and necessary for journalists to bring home to people the uncertain character of the truth on which their opinions are founded, and by criticism and agitation to prod social science into making more useable formulations of social facts, and to prod statesmen into establishing more visible institutions." (*Public Opinion*).

The books and the columns are scrupulous efforts to diagnose and prescribe for "the current unrest," to identify (as he says in *The Public Philosophy*) the "signs and seals of legitimacy, of rightness and of truth" without which constitutional democracy founders. The title of his syndicated newspaper column, "Today and Tomorrow," suggests a self-imposed limitation. Mr. Lippmann took the risks of journalistic judgment, never pretending to knowledge which can come only with the unfolding of events far off. For 55 years he had no peer in American journalism.

His comments on public personages, of whom he has known a great many, are not abusive, or adulatory. On Calvin Coolidge: "Nobody has ever worked harder at inactivity, with such force of character, with such unremitting attention to detail, with such conscientious devotion to the task. . . . There have been Presidents in our time who knew how to whip up popular enthusiasm. There has never been Mr. Coolidge's equal in the art of deflating interest." William McAdoo he found "liberal but worldly, he is bold but immediate, he is brave but not selfless. He would win many skirmishes, and make brilliant dashes, and achieve some victories, but for the long strategic campaigning of democracy, it is hard to tell about him."

Theodore Roosevelt and his New Nationalism were Mr. Lippmann's (and *The New Republic*'s) first political enthusiasm. But there was no hesitation in droping TR when he took to upbraiding Woodrow Wilson for not being tough enough with Mexico. No President, no party has ever been able to gain Walter Lippmann's unqualified admiration. He supported Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey – and deserted them largely because of their policy on Vietnam.

Mr. Lippmann is doing today what he has always done – thinking and writing. The apt remark is his own, made on the 75th birthday of Justice Holmes: "He has lost nothing that young men have, and he has gained what a fine palette can take from the world. If it is true that one generation after another has depended upon its young to equip it with gaiety and enthusiasm, it is no less true that each generation of the young depends upon those who have lived to illustrate what can be done with experience."

The Grace of Comedy

The day after the Episcopal Church's extraordinary special convention ended at South Bend, Indiana, *The New York Times* "News of the Week in Review" featured the disappearance of Dr. James A. Pike, the former Bishop of California. The convention was not mentioned in *The Times*. Shortly afterwards, the discovery of Pike's body was made known by Israeli officials.

In his death in the Judean hills, Bishop Pike once again upstaged the denomination so often baffled by his tumultuous ministry. Accused by his detractors of playing to the press galleries, Pike had an unerring sense of the newsworthy in religion, and his impish delight in confounding his colleagues in the House of Bishops penetrated the most solemn deliberations.

He began his ministry as an assistant at Washington's St. John's Church, a fashionable parish across Lafayette Square from The White House. His previous career as a legal scholar (he co-authored one of the best commentaries on the rules of the federal courts) and lawyer for the Securities and Exchange Commission, plus his religious meandering from childhood Catholicism to adult agnosticism, contributed to his early reputation as a maverick. He moved rapidly up the ladder of churchly success – from Washington to Vassar, where he was a parish rector and student advisor, to Columbia as chaplain, and in 1952, he was named dean of New York's prestigious Cathedral of St. John the Divine. He served as bishop of the California diocese from 1958 until he resigned in 1966 to join the staff of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Last April, he announced he was leaving institutional Christianity, although the Episcopal Church's archaic canon law procedures ironically preserved his status as a bishop at the time of his death.

When he was dean of the New York cathedral and in his early years as bishop of California, Pike was widely admired by liberals within the church. Rarely was a public controversy denied a sharp statement from his Nob Hill cathedral in San Francisco. His controversy with fellow bishops in 1966, spurred by his increas-

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ingly unorthodox writings and statements, led to his censure, but more significantly to the Episcopal Church's de facto abandonment of the concept of heresy. His 1967 divorce and his third marriage in 1968 to Diane Kennedy, who had co-authored his final book dealing with his communication with his dead son, led to his final split with the church.

When Pike became associated with the exploration of spiritualism, former supporters began to edge away in embarrassment. St. Thomas' Church on Fifth Avenue in New York, where Pike had preached for years during Lent, revoked an invitation. Shortly before his death, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions reorganized its staff and Pike was out of a job.

In the few days between his disappearance and the discovery of his body near the Dead Sea, conversations among churchmen included speculations that Pike was manufacturing some spectacular hoax. His wife's public consultations with mediums in attempts to locate her husband contributed to the speculation. The possibility of a put-on, while exposing the shallow judgments of his critics, does suggest something of the profundity of Pike's contribution to contemporary religious life. He never fit accepted categories. Churchmen who knew something of Anglican tolerance (remember the Red Dean), were baffled that he left New York for the dull administrative work of a bishop. Had he stayed in New York, they said, no one would have questioned his inquiries into doctrine. As the co-author of an official church publication on doctrine, Pike was more of a scholar than scores of his fellow bishops. He would not accept, however, what he felt were the confining canons of theological scholarship.

His personal style, ebullient as his public statements, enraged more conservative churchmen. He drank too much. But he quit, too. He smoked incessantly, dribbling ashes on the rich purple of his bishop's vest. Everyone in the church, and many outside, had a theory on Pike. Show-off, sick perhaps, said his critics. Martyr, brilliant leader, said others. They missed the loveliness of the comedy. Pike spent his life laughing at the pretensions of organized religion. He scorned the stuffy Southern Episcopal college which tried to give him an honorary degree, a "degree in white divinity." He tried to discuss with other bishops some of their theological assumptions at the meeting which concluded in his censure in 1966. He said later that when he asked what contemporary theologians were contributing most to his friends' thinking (he retained friendship with his most vigorous critics), he learned that the bishops did no reading at all. He hooted at the heresy charges. He knew Episcopal canon law. The church avoided a showdown with him.

He dove into spiritualism and other psychic phenomena, for life was an endless adventure with tragedy and bright achievement never far apart. "Controversial" is too tepid a tag. His life, like his death, exposed the illusion of earnest seriousness in religion. He didn't fit because he delighted too much in the angularity and the surprise of existence. To say his death is a tragedy is again to miss the point. His serious former colleagues in the House of Bishops were trying to find a way to buy off James Forman at South Bend without losing support of the white establishment, while Jim Pike, vanished and dying, captured the headlines. He would like that. Issues were important to him, and he would have been in the thick of it at South Bend. But religion is like laughter – an indefinable celebration of life, and he remained a prelate of that faith.

Christianity began, his followers insist, when Jesus returned from a mocking death to laugh again at tables among his friends. James A. Pike, full of the grace of comedy, died in the same hills where tradition says Jesus found himself before he began his work. It was not a bad end.

Peter James Lee

The Rev. Peter James Lee is a successor to Bishop Pike as an assistant minister at Washington's St. John's Church.

Student Demands and Academic Freedom

As students return to university campuses, so no doubt will turbulence. Some of the turbulence will again reflect despair over the war and have little to do with the university itself, except as it happens to be a place where the young are. The force of many other storms will turn specifically to the campus. At the center will be various momentary issues. We have, however, now reached the stage where one campus issue underlies most of the stated ones. It is academic freedom.

The fight is not really – at any rate, it is not yet – over "the governance of the university" as the current cliché goes, for we cannot very well decide how and through whom to govern the university until we know to what ends, and subject to what norms, it should be governed. The essential ends of the university and the norms that should govern its governors have in the past been summarized in the phrase, academic freedom. Today's students deserve to have their teachers restate and reexamine the conditions of academic freedom. Then today's students, as yesterday's, are entitled to have their teachers defend those conditions to the last.

With good cause, but not without difficulty, our

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society has, by and large, been persuaded to the belief that new knowledge and insight, like art, are the products of independent minds following each its own bent, and will not often be attained otherwise. That is why we value the freedom of qualified men and women to pursue self-directed work. The universities are places where professionals of many disciplines can follow lines of inquiry that are determined by themselves, individually and collegially, and not dictated by anyone else, on either ideological or practical grounds.

Not all universities, and certainly not all colleges, pretend to be such places, and different sorts of foundations – research institutes and "think-tanks" of one and another variety – can be. But only in a university can inquiry and teaching constitute one creative whole, so that the knowledge and insight of the scholar, and the methods by which he gained them, may be shared with the student; so that students may be the scholar's company, nourishing him, giving as well as taking, in a word, collaborating. To this end, teachers must be free to teach their work, as free in their teaching as in their scholarship, and the enterprise must be judged by professional criteria and none other. The twin freedoms of inquiry and of teaching are best secured by faculty self-rule in matters of appointments, curriculum, and academic standards.

No one will claim that the ideal university exists, or that all members of all faculties are intent on their independent intellectual labors. But we will make no closer approach to the ideal by compromising it. We will collect no more of the kind of people the ideal calls for, and allow no more of them to function as they should, if we let avowedly nonprofessional and nonintellectual criteria play a role in their recruitment, or in prescribing their activities.

To be sure, the young as well as society at large have their own perceptions, which may not coincide with a faculty's intellectual interests, of the skills the young should be trained in and of the information that should be transmitted to them. Academic freedom is limited as the universities pay their way by meeting the felt needs of their clients, which change over time. Society has an instrument at its disposal for bringing its needs home to the university. It is the market, inside the university and out, and it is quite effective in the aggregate, over time. Students vote with their feet, choosing the university they prefer and then, within it, accepting or rejecting parts of the elective curriculum, and their parents vote with their pocketbooks. The curriculum of every university is witness to that.

Nevertheless, like many other institutions, universities are seen to be sluggish in times of rapid change. One way to counteract sluggishness is to engage students in the professional decision-making process by putting them on committees, and giving them access to other, though not to all, faculty deliberations. Students are that part of the larger society which is most easily accessible to the university, and they are, in a sense and for a brief time, most immediately concerned, even if they are by no means alone in their concern.

But the university as the practical servant of the society can all too readily swallow up the university as the haven of independent inquiry; and it would do so, to the ultimate detriment, of course, of the society itself, if students were given a decisive voice in setting the curriculum, or otherwise directing the intellectual life of the university, just as if alumni, or government, or churches, or labor unions, or business, or professional associations were given such a voice.

The disruptive tactics of some students have at times amounted to the assumption of control in faculty decision-making, and they are not to be tolerated for this fundamental reason, as well as for other more obvious ones. But whatever the tactics of students, even if they are entirely civil, and however embarrassingly unfashionable it may be to insist on power and privilege, administrators and faculties should realize that inroads on the autonomy of the latter are inroads on academic freedom; the abandonment of faculty control, or any part of it, over appointments, curriculum and academic standards is the abandonment of the ends of the university.

Alexander M. Bickel

"Amnesty, heck! We want credits in political science."

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Wanna Bet, MasterCharge?

Emmett G. Solomon
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Crocker-Citizens National Bank
1 Montgomery Street, San Francisco

Dear Mr. Solomon:

I hate to trouble your secretary with the inefficiency of one CCNB operation, but there seems to be no other way to deal with the obdurate refusal of your MasterCharge people to read their correspondence, listen to my telephone calls, even look at my signature. As you may expect, I am about to give you a tale of woe which starts some months ago.

In fact, it starts a full year ago, when one J. Middlebrook of 980 Barrymore Street, Concord, California, checked into the Peter Pan Motel in Santa Cruz and charged his costs, $49.30, to his MasterCharge Account #0111780412. The date was 4 July 1968, a day he perhaps now thinks of as one which he enjoyed *gratis*, courtesy of CCNB. He subsequently surfaced in Ukiah at the Ridgewood Park Motel where his day's pleasures cost you $40.32. Since that time, only I have heard of him. He moved from Concord, leaving no forwarding address. This move left your MasterCharge billing department in a temporary quandary, until they hit on the expedient of sending the bill to me at my correct address (although they made up their own ZIP code of 94520). When the first bill arrived, I called up to inquire and tell the office of its error. The first of a remarkably pleasant series of young ladies explained what had probably happened. To wit: the Concord J. Middlebrook had evaporated, so the MasterCharge people simply went through local phone directories looking for another J. Middlebrook, probably a rather time-consuming (and we know what time is, even for a banker) performance, since there are not very many of us in the Bay Area. Well, by luck or determined effort, they found me, Jonathan Middlebrook, four years' resident at this address. Not reflecting upon the fact that, were I a recent immigrant from Concord my name and number would not be in the San Francisco Directory, they sent me the bill with the observation that it was overdue. The charming young lady and I had a few laughs over this procedure and she promised to clear it up. In my innocence, I did not write down this young lady's name and she disappears from my narrative, her job undone and promise unkept.

For the bills would appear each month, and for a while I would dutifully call up and entertain a succession of other pleasant ladies (and once, when I called after four, a rather brisk young man who aspires, no doubt, to your job). Each had various explanations and the same promise, as well as a touch of pleasure in what was becoming my rather polished delivery over the telephone of my history with MasterCharge. Are you, by the way, aware, Mr. Solomon, of how difficult it is to tell an entertaining story over the telephone, or perhaps even in a letter, to a person you have never met? Well, the brisk aspirant did seem to do his work, for the bills stopped coming sometime around November. I held my breath for several months, exhaled, and, probably in February, threw out all the correspondence, including the aspirant's name. (Ordinarily I send letters thanking people for services they render me, but I was a touch peeved, so your organization, alas! will have no way of tracing your hidden Rothschild.)

I had been precipitate in my jaculation. For, it now seems immediately the refuse was collected, the telephone rang. I know that it could not have rung *immediately* after the refuse was collected because our collection is in the morning, and the phone rang in the evening, while we were at dinner, entertaining friends and perhaps toasting in our modest way (Korbel's Natural, a very decent California champagne) the responsiveness of CCNB to a mere individual's request for aid. But the phone: my wife answered it, to be berated by a bill collector. Now really, dear Mr. Solomon, was this not too bad of your people, so to plot against our reconciliation to the financial wizardry which has made California the golden state?

I shall not trouble you much longer. But you know, the phone calls, mine and theirs, have gone on. It is now over a year since you made your initial gift to J. Middlebrook and about eleven months since I have considered myself your ally in the noble effort to collect what is now apparently $153.24 due you. (Incidentally, that 18 percent annual rate plus those monthly "late charges" are really a hot set of money-makers, aren't they? I really think you should try an "early charge" penalty for those who pay within 30 days.) But where will this end? I have collected several names of late, a Miss Hart, who on 25 July promised to clear up the matter. (In my sportiveness of the moment, I did conclude our conversation, "Wanna Bet?") Then, on 7 August, a Miss Alegre sent me a letter to which I of course replied. And then today, dear Mr. Solomon, yet another from the no-doubt estimable Miss Alegre. But these three latest communications, even when they have contained signatures for comparative analysis by your panel of experts, have failed to convince your

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people that I am not, have never been, and most certainly *shall not become* J. Middlebrook of Concord, California, a man who by now may well have walked backwards to Tierra del Fuega.

But, in concluding answer to my own question, where will this end? I greatly hope with you, dear Mr. Solomon. For surely otherwise I, unoffending citizen of California, potential (though I confess not now likely) depositor at Crocker-Citizens National Bank, will end up with a destroyed credit rating, that Star Chamber proceeding of the financial world. And who better than you, Mr. Solomon, should know how great a disaster that would be for a man looking for a house with a cultivatable garden?

Please, Mr. Solomon, HELP!

Cordially,
Jonathan Middlebrook

Moscow's Shaky Mastery of Europe

Close Ranks, The Chinese Are Coming!

Bucharest

Rumanians say that the danger of their country becoming a second Czechoslovakia has now receded. A year ago it was very real, indeed. Now, though they still do not feel secure, they reckon that the danger "is not more than 10 percent." Everything, however, still depends on what a small group of people who rule the Soviet Union, and are not necessarily either wise or well-informed, may do.

According to some Russians, who in private speak with unusual frankness, what chiefly drives the Soviet rulers is fear of China. They regard Mao Tse Tung as another Hitler. Thirty years after the Nazis tried to seize the Ukraine, Mao is demanding thousands of square miles of Soviet Far East territory. These Russians seem to think that their country and China are heading towards an unavoidable great war. They do not, however, seem to believe that this will happen this year, or even next year. And they rule out the possibility of a Soviet preemptive strike against the Chinese nuclear installations in Sinkiang; a possibility that is taken seriously by people in the United Nations as well as by some in the State Department. But the feeling is strong that the Sino-Soviet conflict will be around for a long time. Peking's claims on areas of Siberia, Outer Mongolia and Khazakstan have set the Kremlin to seeking some kind of accord with the bourgeois democracies of the West, as did Stalin in Hitler's day.

The Rumanians with whom I've met are appalled by the apparent belief of some Americans that a quick, easy settlement of all outstanding issues between the United States and the Soviet Union is now likely, and will be followed by a long era of genuine peaceful coexistence. They are appalled because they don't believe that because the Russians feel forced to adopt a defensive strategy toward the West, they are therefore readier to settle problems like disarmament, the Middle East and Germany. They argue that the invasion of Czechoslovakia was convincing proof that the Kremlin believes the way to carry out a defensive strategy is to adopt aggressive tactics. Soviet warships in the Mediterranean, and continuing Russian support of the Arab cause in the Middle East are other indications of this.

However, Russian fear and hate of China are genuine and dominate Moscow's attitude towards all other countries. In the case of Rumania, what infuriates the Russians most is the Rumanians' refusal to take the Soviet side in the great Moscow-Peking feud. After all, from the Russian point of view, Mao Tse Tung and his friends are "fascists" just like the old Nazis. Why do Rumanians refuse to recognize this, and keep on saying that the sources of conflict are "obscure," that both parties are guilty, and that therefore the best position for Rumania to adopt is one of perfect neutrality? That, in the eyes of the Russians, puts Rumania outside the socialist camp for all practical purposes, no matter how much the Rumanians may insist that they are ready to fulfill their proper obligations under the Warsaw Pact.

Far from sharing the Soviet view that the Chinese are "fascists," the Rumanians suspect that the Chinese are less potentially aggressive than the Russians. They think the Chinese have behaved with extreme moderation in regard to both Vietnam and Formosa. They believe that an understanding between China and the West, especially the US, may prove easier than an

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understanding between America and Russia. This belief is partly based on self-interest. For a Soviet-American understanding would call for American recognition of Moscow's absolute supremacy in Eastern Europe. That, the Rumanians hope, the United States is not and never will be ready for. In all the so-called people's democracies of Eastern Europe (about 100 million people) the basic reality is the refusal to accept the political, economic and cultural supremacy of Moscow. Any American policy that disregarded this would reap a bitter harvest. Whereas, an American-Chinese understanding would call for no such difficult American acknowledgment of a Chinese sphere of influence, but only for a tacit, unwritten agreement that most of Southern and Eastern Asia is to be neutral. One day, perhaps soon, the Americans will leave Vietnam and Thailand. The only American soldiers left on Asian soil may be in South Korea. China, it is said, has no desire to take over these areas which are over-populated and where the Chinese are not popular. Peking's objective is to insure that these lands do not become launching pads for an attack on China, while China is seeking empty spaces elsewhere to satisfy the needs of her population, which before the century is over will pass the one-billion mark. Nor, it is further said, is China going to try to conquer Formosa. Concentrating their attention on Siberia, Mongolia and Khazaskstan, the Chinese rulers may forget about Formosa for a generation or two, provided they don't fear being stabbed in the back from there.

Many Rumanians say openly that the darkest hour will come for their country when shootings on the Russian-Chinese frontier become more frequent. When that happens, they expect that the men in the Kremlin will take strong measures to guard the Russian rear, especially against dissident Communists who are obstinately intent on staying neutral.

There are other causes of mutual distrust and irritation. Moscow seems determined to legitimize the Brezhnev Doctrine of the Soviet right of military intervention in the affairs of Russia's allies. The Rumanians are holding out firmly against this. The Soviet high command has demanded that military maneuvers shall take place this fall on Rumanian soil and that Russian and Bulgarian troops and aircraft shall be permitted entry. The Rumanians are still trying to prevent it.

The Russians have other quarrels on their hands in East Europe, even with the East Germans, who are selling more goods to the West and earning Western currencies with which they can buy raw materials. For this reason, East Germany is less interested in buying from and selling to the other Communist countries and is now apathetic toward the integration aims of COMECON (the Communist common market) of which only a few years ago the East Germans were the strongest supporters. Moscow, however, needs East Germany's industrial capacity and wants to sell the East Germans raw materials. Yet, at the same time, the Russians are putting out feelers to Bonn. The reason is that the Soviet leaders fear not only American-Chinese collusion, but also some kind of Bonn-Peking deal. The two Western nations whom the Russians stand in awe of are the Americans and the Germans. Gomulka of Poland has also been putting out feelers to Bonn, and these moves by Moscow and Warsaw are eyed with great misgiving in East Berlin. This has actually nudged the East Germans closer to the Rumanians, whom they formerly branded as traitors.

Less than 25 years after the war which established the Soviet Union as the absolute master of Eastern Europe, that mastery is shown to be increasingly shaky. The Czech example suggests that only brute force can maintain it. Not only has the Communist monolith broken down into its component parts, but the splitting processes are still going on.

This year, thousands of Czechs and Slovaks invaded the Rumanian Riviera. There were 30- or 40-thousand of them. Czech passports are still good for visits to all Communist countries in Europe. Prague vainly tried to persuade citizens to visit Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland or East Germany. The Czechs and Slovaks preferred Rumania, which last year did not send troops to take part in the invasion of their country. Although the Rumanians had hoped to earn capitalist currencies from their Riviera, they nevertheless showed remarkable generosity toward the Czech and Slovak visitors. They allowed them to set up tents and camps everywhere, on the lawns of the big hotels as well as on the beaches, and they improvised cafes, bars and shops. The Rumanian Riviera, which is on the Black Sea coast and is called Mamaia, offers whiskey made in Shanghai, and beer brewed in Egypt. For the average Czech, a two-week vacation under a tent in Mamaia costs more than a month's salary, but the Czechs are willing to pay; they suspect it may not be possible next year. They cheerfully queue up for hours in order to buy a few tomatoes, or a pound of grapes.

The Czechs are full of bitter anti-Russian stories. They accuse the Russians in Czechoslovakia of buying up everything and shipping it back home to their families in the Soviet Union. They say that Russia sells Czechoslovakia oil of poor quality, at an exorbitant price. They insist that the Russians have preempted all the Czechoslovakian shoes which formerly were exported to the United States. The Rumanians who hear these tales of Soviet plundering appear to believe them.

The "zone of security" which Moscow built in Europe after the second world war has become a zone of resentment of everything Russian. It is not a happy outlook for the Russians to have this going on in their European back yard, at the same time they confront a growing Chinese menace.

Philip Ben

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Medium Cool
(Paramount)

American Revolution 2
(Cannon)

Haskell Wexler, one of our best cinematographers (*In the Heat of the Night* and numerous others), has now directed his first feature. He has also written the script and, of course, has done the photography. It's about a TV-news cameraman who comes to understand the radiation effects of the purring bomb in his hands. The title, *Medium Cool*, is evidently a play on McLuhan's phrase "the cool medium." The subject could not be more timely; the visual elements in the film are, naturally, fine; some sequences are exceptionally good; but, ironically, the film itself is trapped in its hero's own pitfall.

The cameraman, played by Robert Forster, works for a station in Chicago, which is apt because the 1968 Democratic Convention can decorate the climax and also because Forster's role is the '68 equivalent of a *Front Page* character, Hildy Johnson with an Arriflex, tough but stoically idealistic. His idealism is in his ruthless professionalism. Then he meets the young widow of a West Virginia miner (killed in Vietnam), who has come to Chicago with her young son. Through his experiences with them, Forster is meant to learn that idealism extends past the ego. And he is also meant to learn that the medium which provides the pleasure in his life is also a medium in which his and other lives are held; and by which, to some degree, they are all fashioned.

The physical feeling the picture gives us is of being pressed close against it. Some of the dialogue has the whip of flexible steel; some of the sequences are small diamonds. There is a scene in which Forster and his girl of the moment, Marianna Hill, whirl around his room naked while she curses him, laughing, a scene that has more sex before they get into bed than most copulation scenes have. There is a minute in the kitchen of that Los Angeles hotel as the cooks work, listening to Bobby Kennedy over a p.a. from the ballroom next door, which ends just as his entourage bursts in through the swinging doors – a touch that suggests early Orson Welles. As Forster walks across the floor of the still-empty Chicago convention hall, they test the recording of *The Star Spangled Banner*, rich and thrilling; they stop and start it again – push-button patriotism. Wexler uses the editing device that Richard Lester used so brilliantly in *Petulia* – cutting suddenly to parallel yet disparate action or to unexplained flashbacks, eventually weaving the pieces together. Wexler doesn't have Lester's power to convey secret universes that finally meld, still some moments are lovely. And the picture ends with a sardonic reminder – for those who remember it – of the way the Paramount newsreel used to end.

And there are some good performances. Forster, who looks like a young, more fine-grained Jack Palance, has force-in-restraint. Harold Blankenship, who reportedly is an actual Appalachian boy, plays the miner's son with a wealth of proud boyish secrets. Verna Bloom, his mother, has reticent beauty, both in looks and effect.

But, right from the start, *Medium Cool* is infected with the falseness that seems endemic among the new crop of American film truth-tellers. The very first sequence: Forster and his soundman shoot a car accident and record the groans of the injured woman on a lonely road. When they get back to their company car, Forster recollects himself and says (the first line of the film): "Better call an ambulance." Phony. It's hard enough to believe that the most hardened newsman would not have called an ambulance before doing his job; but it's impossible to believe that he would have forgotten to call one after he finished – particularly the man this one is later shown to be. The scene is an artificially imposed "meaningful" device, and is followed by others. When the boy, who keeps pigeons on his roof, reads from a book about the fidelity of male and female pigeons, the camera closes heavily on the face of his lonely mother. When Forster and his girl go to a roller derby, the excited crowd yells, "Go! Go! Go!" and the scene dissolves cheaply to Forster and the girl in bed while the soundtrack keeps yelling "Go!" There is the usual hallmark of the worried realist – facile ugliness: a dwarf attendant at the derby, a badly crippled orderly at a hospital. Wexler wants to include a scene with black militants, so he has Forster invade a black militant meeting, on the trail of an irrelevant human-interest story, with a professional crassness that would have got him fired long before we meet him. Forster just happens to have been an amateur boxing champion, which helps him to win over his girl's young son. (In *Winning* Paul Newman had his auto-racing to impress Joanne Woodward's son. How does a non-athlete manage in situations like this?) And the last sequence of the picture is a mirror image of the first, so pat and mechanical that it degrades whatever authenticity the picture has been able to establish. Further, that ending is predicted with a bulletin on Forster's car radio, just as the ending of *Easy Rider* was predicted with a film flash. In the latter case, it could possibly be called the character's prescience, but what is Wexler's radio flash? A voice from the spirit world? No, nothing that credible. It is just Wexler refusing to miss a chance for an arty effect.

Forster's internal drama, which I outlined above, is in fact all in my outline, not in the film. It's assumed that he has gone through what Swedenborg would have called a "vastation," and it's not even assumed by Wexler – we have to assume it *for* him, if the picture is going to hold together at all and make any kind of progress, if the ending is to have even sophomoric bitterness. After Forster is fired by the station (he's told that he broke company rules but the implication is that Big Brother is watching him), all that happens is that he sees a good deal of the widow and the boy, is hired to film the convention, helps the widow to look for her boy who has disappeared, and runs into the ending. There is some small indication of enlarged humanity in him through his experience with the Appalachians, but it is certainly not crystallized in relation to the theme: the wanton use of the powers of film, especially on television. That theme, as such, is simply dropped.

Wexler's inclusion of the convention riots is undigested. What have the riots to do with his theme – *as shown here?* What have they to do with the

(Continued on page 34)

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Arthur Naftalin and A. Boyd Thomes: The Last Puritan in City Hall

A Political Life: The Education of John V. Lindsay by Nat Hentoff

(Knopf; $6.95)

Fun City is a wasteland. Its springs are drying, its branches withering and the uptight white knight rides forth. He searches heroically for the new vitality that will restore health to his domain, but the land becomes increasingly hostile and the blight continues to worsen.

John Lindsay's quest has taken him down rats' alley through a monstrous succession of civic horrors. Yet he remains undaunted in his effort to save his city, to make the desert bloom.

How the Lindsay quest is proceeding is the subject of this chronicle by Nat Hentoff. It is a sympathetic, yet detached, account of a leader of superior intelligence and rock-like probity who is prepared to joust endlessly with all the dragons and demons.

The truth is that New York City really *is* disintegrating and cannot save itself by its own effort – a plight that is shared in varying degree by all of our larger cities. Yet awareness of this crushing fact somehow eludes the nation's leaders as war-as-usual, business-as-usual continue to dominate the country's political attitude. Lindsay's mission is to change this attitude, to "politicalize" the federal government into a realization that the urban crisis demands at least the "equivalent of the effort that was made to win World War II."

Lindsay's insistent call for an awakening to the urban problem makes his service as mayor a matter of critical national importance, because he offers one slight ray of hope that the nation may yet rescue our cities.

His quest, however, does not appear to be clearly perceived or warmly appreciated by his constituents. It calls upon them to embrace a larger concept of community and to subordinate their cherished ethnic and partisan loyalties. His is a politics that derives from a stern Puritan notion of individual responsibility and a foreswearing of self-interest so that the community might thrive. It was this sense of moral rectitude in Lindsay that first attracted Hentoff. As a boy in Boston Hentoff knew the "politics of joy" of the Jewish ghetto and he shared his father's delight in beating the Republicans every time with their own WASP fink, Franklin Roosevelt. To be anti-WASP was to be politically "in" and the ethnics reveled in their coalition against "the bankers, the dessicated aristocrats, the Beacon Hill and State Street Protestants who had not yet fully learned that all doors must now be opened for the newer Americans" – a lesson that the ethnics in their turn would find so difficult to apply.

And then Hentoff moved to New York in 1953 and watched the city rot. Politics ceased to be a pleasure, although it remained a passion, and he was struck by the performance of the young Republican Congressman, a vintage WASP, who operated without a political machine and "seemed extraordinarily hung up on ethics.

For Hentoff WASPs had always been "another country," but now he was drawn to Lindsay's uncompromising insistence that the dignity of every man come before class or group interest. It was an intuitive joining of Hentoff's Jewish humanism with Lindsay's WASP commitment to responsible political behavior, a relationship that would have bewildered the forebears of both. In time Lindsay's stubborn respect for the individual would engage him in an endless round of encounters – with organized teachers, organized cops, organized garbage collectors, organized Republicans, organized Democrats, and organized ethnic groups. He beckons his constituents to rise above their tribal origins and accept a place in a new society based on universal brotherhood. "If there is one thing that sets much of this generation apart," he said at Columbia University, "it is the insistence on personal worth – the refusal to subordinate humanity to dogma. The demand to replace bureaucracy with community participation; the values of the single human spirit."

Lindsay comes by this commitment naturally. His childhood and early training were classically correct: close-knit family, Republican and affluent; a tolerant and exemplary father who rose from humble origins to wealth; prestigious private schools with character-building cold showers; Yale, ROTC, Naval service in World War II, and five battle stars.

He first tested his lance when he defied the regular Republican organization in his successful bid for Congress in 1958. As a freshman Congressman of only nineteen days' service he defended the Supreme Court – in an unprecedented speech on the floor – against an attack by a noted party leader. Repeatedly, and often alone, he fought bills that would weaken civil liberties, or that would limit the use or censor the content of the mails, or allow discrimination in public housing. His principled positions, often at odds with party leaders, made him an irregular Republican and foreclosed the possibility of a role of formal leadership in the House, although from the start his unusual capabilities were recognized by his colleagues.

Despite, perhaps because of, his party irregularity, Lindsay was elected Mayor in 1965 as a Republican-Liberal coalition candidate, and his adversaries suddenly increased in strength and number. On the day he took office transit workers went on strike and since then there has been a virtually uninterrupted series of disorders and disruptions – enough for one full public career. Yet he chose to run again, in the face of growing opposition and disenchantment, because not to have done so, he told Hentoff, would have been an act of "moral cowardice." Lindsay will break his lance before he abandons the field. But if Lindsay's uprightness has been his strength it has also exacer-

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bated his troubles. To many he appears arrogant and self-righteous. "He comes on," says a reform Democrat, "as if he's bearing the white man's burden." He lectures labor leaders on their obligations to the larger community and scolds legislators when they fail to respond to his pleas in behalf of the city. Yet the Hentoff account shows that he has capacity for growth, that he is becoming more flexible, more *political* as he gathers experience.

This development, however, may have mixed value. Hentoff wonders if Lindsay has perhaps become *too political.* He is, for example, distressed by Lindsay's "promoting" his chairman of the city's Human Rights Commission to a judgeship when he came under an unjustified attack as an anti-Semite in the frenzy of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversy. During the teachers' strikes, says Hentoff, Lindsay "was too often the politician and too seldom the Puritan," and he faults him for failing to make "clear to the city as a whole exactly what the issues were," suggesting that the pressures from the ethnics may finally be getting to him.

On the basis of Lindsay's total record, however, we are not inclined – as we view him from halfway across the continent and from within the fraternity of mayors and ex-mayors – to regard him as having betrayed his own subjective commitment. More than any other public leader he has called the nation to an awareness of the desperate plight of the cities, and he has, as Hentoff says, "kept making it necessary for the city to confront itself."

Lindsay early in his career was recognized by his fellow mayors as an unusually effective spokesman. In part this instant leadership was due to his status as mayor of the nation's largest city (the pecking order among mayors is largely a matter of population), but it was also due to their appreciation of his grasp of urban problems, of his zest for the struggle and of his willingness to fight for new programs.

His troubles as mayor have tended to obscure from full public view other significant aspects of Lindsay as a political leader – his deep interest and extensive experience in foreign affairs, his early and consistent criticism of our involvement in Vietnam, his informed attacks on the establishment, especially for its excessive emphasis on defense expenditures, and his sincere reaching out to the young, none of which may at the moment enhance his electability; but – whether he wins or loses in this election – they will have endowed him with an authenticity and credibility that may make him unusually attractive in future elections.

Hentoff set about to write an account of "a city administration in process," to perform "an act of continuous reporting which hopefully will give a sense of the changing rhythms and textures of Lindsay's experience as mayor as he keeps learning how much he still has to learn in order to govern with direction." His central device is a series of interviews with Lindsay associates, Lindsay detractors, Lindsay watchers, members of the Lindsay family, and Lindsay himself – all amazingly literate, articulate and perspicacious. (The responses of some no doubt improved stylistically as they sifted through Hentoff's memory.) Hentoff writes with clarity and directness and he knows the right questions.

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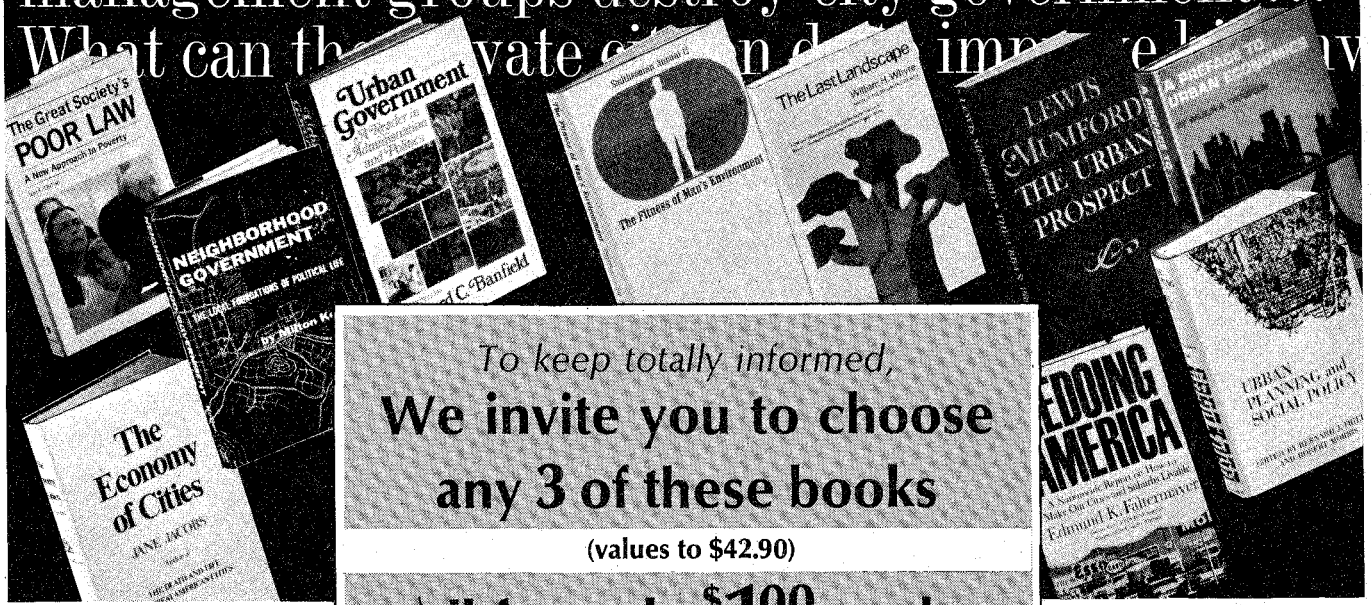

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future is irretrievably lost to a struggle among factions or whether the mounting of the barricades might be postponed with one further effort at reconciliation. Win or lose, John Lindsay will remain an important force in American politics. If he wins, America's most important urban constituency will have responded to his call to rise above parochialism and partisanship. If he loses, he will leave the memory of a gallant quest to provide his city with some larger monument than the "asphalt road and a thousand lost golf balls" – the T. S. Eliot line that Lindsay fears may be the city's epitaph.

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Art Today: An Introduction to the Visual Arts

by Ray Faulkner and Edwin Ziegfeld

(Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $14.95)

This fifth edition of a popular coffee-table art-book is a further sign that the written word is probably on its way out. Professor Faulkner teaches art at Stanford, and Professor Ziegfeld at Teachers College, Columbia University, and they have picked their 72 color and 630 black and white illustrations with considerable skill and care. But their poverty of language is appalling. Poverty, not frugality; you need quite a lot of words to provide the printer with sufficient text to go around so many pictures. Faulkner and Ziegfeld dribble words like badly leaking faucets. The result is mainly small talk, and sometimes baby talk ("Pigments come in tubes . . . They are available in a wide range of colors.") Yet the authors in their preface tell gravely about passing the manuscript and the pictures around among fellow professors and museum curators for scrutiny and critical comment; one gets an impression of exhaustive textual amendment by a large learned assembly. It scarcely shows up in such banalities as, "The Chinese have a tradition of watercolor that goes back many hundreds of years."

Who reads this kind of stuff? Perhaps the "millions of Americans [who] are amateur painters, sculptors and weavers"; more probably, nobody. The pictures are the thing, and can be recommended as guaranteeing hours of amusement that may also prove instructive. Messrs. Faulkner and Ziegfeld have picked up tips from movies (as their fulsome remarks about *2001 Space Odyssey* make clear) and have an illuminating habit of cutting direct from Bernini's *Ecstasy of Saint Theresa* to a photo of a one-celled paramecium. That may lead to occasional odd judgments – personally, I never have been struck by the Empire State Building looking "like a giant piece of Pop sculpture." But the method also furnishes some interesting insights into the nature of man through Space and Time. For instance, it becomes perfectly evident that the maker of the jug from Cyprus, depicted here, who lived in the sixth or seventh century before Christ, would readily recognize what Roy Lichtenstein is up to with his 1966 dinnerware designs. Man the artist apparently doesn't change, much. The other disconcerting thought is that the Cypriot probably didn't have much use for the written word, either. But would he be comfortable with Maret Oppenheim's 1936 fur-covered cup, saucer and spoon? About to fly to the planets, is man advancing, running harder to stay in the same place, or regressing?

The "visual arts" are generously defined; the book is short on artistry but long on life. The way people live is really what it's about, and, looked at in that way, it's enthralling. Rotating houses and modular prefabs jostle fluorescent acrylics and Isamu Noguchi's suggested "Garden of the Moon" for the US Pavilion at Expo 70 in Osaka, Japan. There's the new town of Reston, Virginia, naturally, and also translucent acrylic ellipsoids (street lights). I learned that the Neiman-Marcus exhibition hall in Dallas's NorthPark shopping center has wing-like white canopies of stretch fabric; and that in fabric designer Jack Lenor Larsen's New York apartment, plain stretch-wool Contura sheathes the unusual shapes of Pierre Paulin chairs. Furthermore, I hadn't grasped the full horror of freeways, until I saw J. R. Eyerman's photo of Los Angeles, taken with a fish-eye lens.

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Anne and Stan Winston and their two daughters live in a New York suburb 2,000 miles from the reservation. But it's another world. The Winstons live in a big, old house and complain about a big, new mortgage. Their girls have a closetful of clothes and "nothing to wear." They have bikes, skates, games, books, records and "nothing to do."

Della and her seven brothers and sisters have none of these problems. Her father spends as much time looking for work as he does working. Sanitary facilities are almost non-existent. Electricity has yet to reach them. Water is hauled by hand. Even the barest necessities are hard to come by.

Through Save The Children Federation, the Winstons are helping Della. The cost is $15.00 a month. It's not a lot of money, but certainly the Winstons could have thought of a lot of other things to do with it. Fortunately they thought of Della first.

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Some of the pressure, too, is off her parents, who can now begin thinking about making their home a little more livable. Also, and perhaps most important, part of the money is put into a fund from which the village can borrow to start self-help projects, including better housing and a water system.

Already there is a new feeling of hope among the villagers and confidence in their ability to help themselves. Even little Della has volunteered to give some time each week to keep her school playground clean.

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David Sanford: Not Next to Godliness

Life on Man
by Theodor Rosebury

(Viking: $6.95)

Theodor Rosebury is fascinated with the bacteria under his microscope, but enjoys almost as much the bugs he finds in literature, the arts, movies, and mensroom walls. To make a book of one radical assertion (people are more afraid of germs than they need to be) Rosebury has to digress into obscenity, scatology, graffiti, oral sex, bathroom plumbing, euphemisms. (Rosebury isn't quite liberated enough to spell out some of the nastier words.)

For all of our obsession with cleanliness we don't know much about it. Historically, the study of the body, its processes, and the microscopic life which inhabits man have been considered embarrassingly solipsistic. School children know a great deal more about Galileo than they do about Leeuwenhoek; life on the planets is a respectable study; life on man is not. As it happens not all bacteria are harmful. The things we do to keep clean often upset the ecological balance of, for instance, our mouths. Rosebury agrees with the FDA that mouthwash, killing as it may "millions of germs on contact" does away with helpful organisms as well as harmful ones and then only does part of the job. Millions more remain. Healthy mouths don't smell. If you have bad breath, says Rosebury, see your dentist. Advertising has created "hair odor" and simultaneously provided new shampoos as palliatives; it has terrified us of toilets and now has many conscientious housewives buying products that ensure a constant flow of pale blue disinfectant through the pipes. Industry knows the public will always be a sucker for a product that promises to make you (your children, dog, house, car) cleaner than clean. But total cleanliness is a myth, and worthless.

Ralph Nader has helped the cleanliness industry, claiming among other things that there are rat hairs in pork sausage. There is trichina in pork too, sometimes, and good cooks know that it is best, for safety sake, to cook the pink out of pork to prevent trichinosis. It is unclear, though, whether rat hairs are harmful to health – or merely unesthetic – once *they* have been cooked. Nader, as far as I can remember, didn't say that cooked rat hairs kill. It was enough in the clean society to point out their presence. Nader is not careful enough about his own health; he eats in cafeterias.

"It would be fatuous," says Rosebury, "to deny that there are offenses against decency; they are all around us. If 'obscenity' or 'pornography' harms children, the effect should be capable of documentation and measurement. Could its influence be compared with that of the violence that permeates the atmosphere in which our children are growing up? Which hurts a child more, a 'dirty' word he hears or sees, or the picture of handsome young adults smoking cigarettes with rapt enjoyment? Which does more damage to an impressionable young mind, a view of uncovered skin or evidence of mendacity in the politician and huckster? But even these questions seem to admit more than may be admissible. Isn't the whole traditional notion of obscenity fraudulent, or itself obscene?"

Rosebury's humorous work on dirt in all its senses has as its serious basis a concern about priorities and proportion. The same avarice that motivates people to make money cleaning up our mouths causes others to "clean up" polluting the air and water. They, not hippies, are the dirty ones.

Notes on Contributors

ARTHUR NAFTALIN *is Professor of Public Affairs at the University of Minneapolis and former mayor of Minneapolis (1961-69).* A. BOYD THOMES *is a Minneapolis physician.* CLARA MORE DE MORINNI *is an American who lived in Paris during the thirties; she now lives in Massachusetts.*

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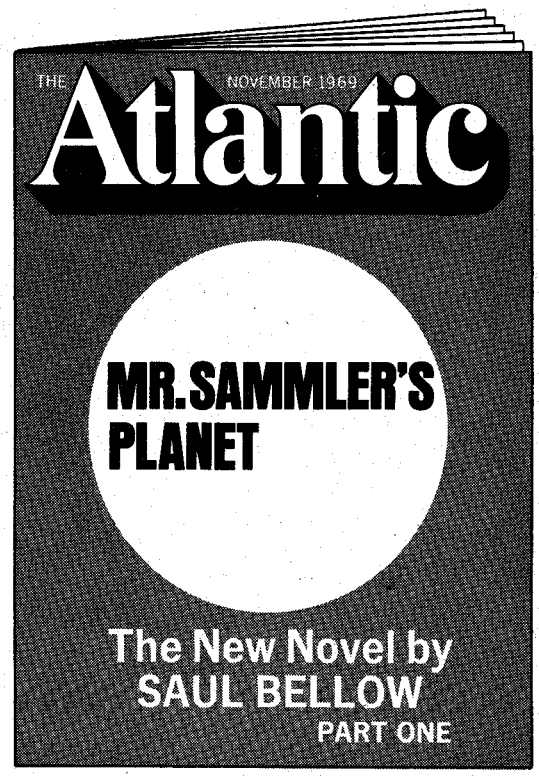

Mr. Sammler's Planet is the brilliant new novel by Saul Bellow, and it will appear in full in the November and December issues of The ATLANTIC. When we first heard of the new novel by one of America's leading writers, we decided that some of it should appear in America's leading monthly. On reading it we realized it had to be all or nothing, and decided to publish the entire book.

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We could mention other reasons why we like to think that The ATLANTIC is just about the best mixture of literature, reportage, and rumination to be found here on *Mr. Sammler's Planet* or, as far as we can determine from the findings of the Apollo and Mariner missions, anywhere else. The kind of magazine that, for example, just the other day got a hearty pat on the back from the New York *Times*, which said of our Mitford piece on the Spock trial: "The timeliness of the article (typifies) the change of The ATLANTIC from an essentially staid literary journal to a magazine with lively commentaries on current issues with special appeal to younger readers." We won't quarrel with that.

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Libraries

Americans in Paris

To a bookworm all libraries are dear. I have visited many with pleasure: in London, Paris, New York, college and municipal libraries, rich private libraries and small collections of bibliophiles. But to me, the American Library in Paris is outstanding.

It has a very special beginning. During World War I the American Library Association had supplied the American Expeditionary Forces with a large number of books. When the war was over, a decision was made by some imaginative expatriates to make these volumes the nucleus of an American free library in Paris. It opened to civilians in the early twenties. It depended then, as now, on its friends and is a private, non-profit institution, having no support from the US government or any large foundation.

Among its founders was Charles Seeger, father of Alan Seeger, poet of the First World War, who made a commemorative gift to the library. There was Edith Wharton, and the Countess of Chambrun, a Shakespearean authority. Burton Stevenson of the *Home Book of Verse* was its first librarian and creator of the American Library association school on its premises.

From the start, the Library was immensely popular. French students came to take out essays and poetry in English, volumes on American history and literature, and periodicals. Books were sent on consignment all over Europe. It was said that "anyone anywhere could ask for the loan of a book." Every effort was made to comply, even to borrowing the requested book from the Library of Congress.

Authors found it useful: Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas were first seen by this writer standing together before the circulation desk. Glenway Wescott came often; Louis Bromfield spoke on literary afternoons. There were critiques by less well known figures, resumés of books which had been added to the shelves. The Library never quite took on the clubby atmosphere of "Shakespeare and Co." near the Odeon, where Sylvia Beach was postmistress for Hemingway and others, but it had a genuine literary as well as functional *ambiance*. After having been interned in 1940, Sylvia Beach closed Shakespeare and Co. and gave 5,000 of her books to the American library.

The Library's first, slightly eccentric but elegant address, 10 rue de l'Elysée, was in the former residence of the Papal Legate, opposite the park of the Presidential Palace. It was a most unlikely set-up. The circulation desk was in a round, painted, rather gloomy entrance hall with a domed ceiling. The children's room was in the former chapel of the Papal Legate, *desaffecté*, of course. In a country where children are supposed to be adults in miniature, and to grow up as quickly and as reasonably as possible, that room was a novelty with its small size tables and chairs. The main reading room was lofty, painted and extremely formal. The open shelves in the stacks were a striking innovation for France, where the library mentality insists that books are to be sheltered, hoarded, and withdrawn only with the greatest difficulty. In one of the maze of upstairs rooms, the American Library Association organized a school for French librarians, giving instruction in the Dewey system of cataloguing. Some of the top French library administrators had their train-

"Since Gide, no journal has spoken more clearly or meditatively of the cannibal, civilized self."
—HORTENSE CALISHER

the village Voice
July 24, 1969

TOBY SCHNEEBAUM is a painter who right now is working at a job folding Christmas cards in New York, and when there's enough money accrued from that, he splits. He plans to take off for either Outer Mongolia or Timbuktu, probably some time in January. Those may sound like cliches of far out places, but he has done it many times before. He takes traditional transportation to a continent, then walks, without regard to food or money, not even necessarily by roads, sketching as he goes.

At various times he has plodded 100 miles across North Borneo, trekked from Istanbul to Singapore (jailed as a spy in Iran and East Pakistan), and crossed the Sahara on top of a truck. Aside from exotic geography, the most striking quality in Schneebaum's travels is his solitude, and then the ease with which he slips into primitive cultures and tribes. "I survive by becoming the people," he says. "I don't do it consciously. I'm fascinated by other peoples' sex habits and mental habits . . . I eat their food, sleep with them, wear their clothes, or go naked."

Not just an intellectual explorer in sneakers, he passionately disappears into new aboriginal life styles, at every bend of the river. Because he arrives alone and is so ingenuous, the different tribes seem to accept him in uncommon faith.

SCHNEEBAUM AND FRIEND

His book "Keep the River on Your Right," to be published by Grove in September, is the upshot of a deep walk into the Puranga and the cannibal Akarama tribes of Peru. The book is set off from other safari type chronologies because most explorers don't get into the cult experience so sensuously. Schneebaum's participation in a headhunt and feast, as one of the marauders, doesn't finally separate him from the people, he emerges in greater rapture. "My friends are real and solid, to be slapped and bitten, friends to race with along the jungle floor to shoot an arrow into food."

—Howard Smith

TOBIAS SCHNEEBAUM'S Keep the River on Your Right

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ing there – the director of the Bibliotheque Ste. Geneviève, among others. Appropriate books on local industry were supplied, on textiles for example, in Roubaix.

The most surprising and pleasing feature was the location of books seldom called for. The house had a small paved court on which gave some stables. These books were in the loose boxes and stalls of the stable. Brass plates with the names of the former occupants, Pegasus or Comète, were still visible in the dim light. To prowl around there, looking for out-of-the-way books, amidst reminders of horsy aristocrats of the past gave one a special satisfaction.

The Library left the rue de l'Elysée, and after a brief stay at 10 Champs Elysées moved to 9 rue de Téréhan, a *hôtel particulier entre cour et jardin* belonging to Monsieur Soulange-bodin, who is greatly interested in *La Demeure Historique*, the French counterpart of the National Trust of Great Britain. A recent book of his, *Chateaux Connus et Inconnus*, is being sold for the benefit of the Library. This third setting had some of the charm of the original, an intimacy foreign to most public librarians. There was a grandfather's clock in the hall and stacks in the "winter garden." I had the pleasure, on a return visit to Paris, from which World War II had driven me, of finding many books of my own in these stacks. Not knowing when I might be back, I had told the library to pick up the ones they considered useful. This turned out to be nearly the full contents of my book shelves.

While the Library was on the rue de Téréhan, Madame de Chambrun served as temporary Director, from 1941 to 1944. Because of her, its doors were never closed during the entire Nazi occupation of Paris. The influence of the Director stemmed from the association of the de Chambrun family with that of Laval, René de Chambrun having married José Laval. It was certainly an odd association for a descendent of the Marquis de la Fayette, for René de Chambrun is a descendent of Lafayette's second daughter, Anastasie.

The next outstanding director of the Library (1947 until recently) was Ian Forbes Fraser, under whose administration the Library greatly expanded its services. Provincial branches were founded in Toulouse, Montpellier, Grenoble, and Nantes, adding a large

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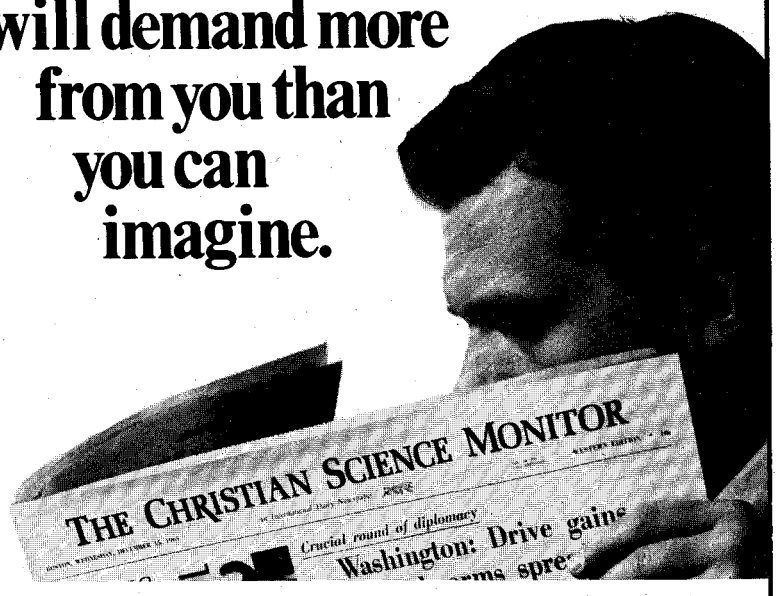

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number of provincial subscribers to those in Paris. In Rennes, people were said to be so anxious to see the books that they poured in to read the titles as the books lay piled on the floor, for the Library was late in opening.

This unique institution furnishes hundreds of European research organizations with American periodicals, with microfilms and photographs. It had the first collection of books in Braille and Talking Books in all Europe. Now its Department for the Blind, in cooperation with the Junior Guilds of the American Cathedral, circulates 400 "talking books" in 18 different countries. The present librarian is Harry Goldberg.

Today the Library owns its own home on the rue Camou, but no situation will ever have the poignant associations of the rue de l'Elysée. In the 19th century that street had been cut through the gardens of the Duc de Choiseul-Praslin, and at the same time, his magnificent mansion, 55 Faubourg St. Honoré, had been torn down. All this followed on the savage murder of the Duchesse in that mansion on the night of August 16, 1847.

The Duc was arrested at once – he was obviously the culprit – and imprisoned in the Luxembourg. The governess, Madamoiselle Deluzy Desportes, detained as a possible accessory, was shut in the Conciergerie. She was questioned several times, then released. Rachel Fields had written her story in *All This and Heaven Too*. Another account of the tragedy may be found on the shelves of the Library, entitled *Forget-me-not*, by William Shearer (pseudonym), together with a copy of the *process verbale*, an account of the Duc's trial for murder.

No wonder the American Library has an air all its own!

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Correspondence

Dumb Children

Sirs:

Hooray and bravo for Mr. Ridgeway (" 'Dumb' Children," August 2). I am a parent of a deaf child and I know. Our daughter is nearly thirteen and we continue to plead, implore and cajole those controlling the program for the hearing-impaired to be as consumed with EDUCATING as they are with trying to make deaf children into poor imitations of hearing persons. When we beg for an interpreter in the classroom so she can understand every word and discussion via the sign language, we are told it would be offensive to some people and so it will not be done. She is bright, highly motivated to learn but has been sentenced to getting maybe 30 percent of what transpires because, our school tells us, practicing lipreading is more important.

(Mrs.) Lee Katz
Silver Spring, Maryland

Sirs:

Your James Ridgeway really goofed. He visited one friendly camp to report on what the enemy is doing.

After reading the article, I raced home to take a long look at my four-year-old deaf son to see if I've been screwing up his future with futile oralism. I found my "well-trained little animal" just bursting to tell me about the new truck he was playing with. In short, he was eager to TALK. Something of my voice must have carried through those hearing aids; a year ago there was nothing. My boy came back at me with sound for sound. I'm thankful I could afford those hearing aids sprouting from his ears. I don't like their looks, but I cer-

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tainly like what they do to his speech. . . . Sign language doesn't work for all the deaf, and oralism doesn't work for all the deaf. This is true because not all deaf persons are alike. Mr. Ridgeway doesn't understand oralism. He really doesn't fathom lipreading as a functional component of deaf education; rather, he sees it as a complete system, which it is not. He hardly recognizes the importance of speech, perhaps on the assumption that the deaf cannot speak. Yes, the deaf cannot speak unless they are trained to speak. Speech requires feedback; if the feedback is non-oral, there can be little inducement to the deaf to speak.

One can readily challenge Ridgeway's claims that "an increasing trend is to incorporate classes for the deaf into regular public schools" and that "oralists still dominate the educational scene." When was the last time he made this scene? Another look may convince him that the trend is indeed going the opposite way. We are moving toward more special schools for the deaf, from kindergarten through college, and more manualism or combined method in those schools. We are persistently isolating the deaf. The nonspeaking deaf help as best they can. Gallaudet College is not "the only institution of higher learning for the deaf in the world." What about the National Technical Institute for the Deaf at Rochester Institute of Technology?

Sheldon J. Karlan
Santa Monica, Calif.

Sirs:

James Ridgeway accurately summarizes the oral-manual battle which rages in deaf education. It is good that the waste caused by this internecine squabbling has been brought to the public's attention. The simultaneous method, as Mr. Ridgeway observes, simply makes more sense. That is why it is used at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf in Rochester, New York as well as at Gallaudet College in Washington.

The National Technical Institute for the Deaf, sponsored by the federal government, is a technical college which was established by public law 89-36 in 1965 and which accepted its first students in 1968. Because the N.T.I.D. is operated by the Rochester Institute of Technology, N.T.I.D. students take the same courses as hearing R.I.T. students and work for the same degrees: B.S. and B.F.A. in fields such as photography, printing, engineering, science

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and crafts. Each class which has a deaf student in it also has an "interpreter" who silently mouths what the professor is saying and who simultaneously signs, finger spells, and registers appropriate facial expression. N.T.I.D. itself has a professional staff of approximately 86 people who assist the deaf students by providing a preparatory year of education before the students join the hearing classes, by administering the interpreting and tutoring services, by counseling, and by conducting research in deaf education. This staff also offers non-degree programs at a post-secondary level for those students who do not complete an R.I.T. degree program.

Although two four-year colleges may be too few, at least students do have a choice between liberal arts at Gallaudet and technical education at N.T.I.D., and both colleges do emphasize the total, simultaneous approach to deaf communication.

Kathleen Macdonald
Vestibule Program
Rochester Institute of Technology
Rochester, New York

Kauffmann, *from page 20*

widow story? The whole episode looks fortuitous, as if the film was being made in Chicago when the riots occurred and as if Wexler just decided to capitalize on them. Capitalization of that sort is a perfectly valid film-making process when the occurrence is really absorbed, but since that doesn't happen here, the riot footage smacks of opportunism. There may well have been a connection between the television age and those youthful protests – as McLuhan has maintained – but it is utterly unestablished here.

At bottom the fault of the picture is that Wexler himself is caught in the same traps as his hero: in the sensual pleasure of shooting film, the ease of creating effects, indulgence in them for their own sake, a kind of reliance on film itself to bail him out of trouble. Of course it's obvious that he's a man of social concerns; the subject demonstrates that. But there were a lot of Thirties playwrights who thought that their concern with social truth excused their artistic dishonesty or staleness. Now there is considerable evidence that new American film-makers of serious intent and social concern are similarly schizoid: they act as if their intentions and concerns licensed them for the very frauds and clichés and unfulfillments that they would deride in Hollywood hacks.

In Wexler's case it is really painful because he has exceptional talents. He is well worth watching to see whether his future work is free of patent contrivance and glib sensation (in honest causes, of course) or, what is worse, phony candor; whether he will take the trouble to become a thorough artist or will ride along as a flashy, superior Lumet-Frankenheimer clevernik.

Another film connected tenuously with the '68 convention troubles is *American Revolution 2*, a documentary made by the Film Group, a unit that works as an ensemble and does not give individual credits. They are "best known for TV commercials," their publicity says, which makes a second parallel with *Medium Cool*, but their skills in shooting and editing presumably dropped several notches when they went serious.

They begin where Wexler ends, with the riots, and again like him, this footage has no real relation to the rest of the film. The riot scenes go on for quite a long time, twenty minutes anyway, before we get to the titles and the picture gets to itself: coverage of slum-neighborhood protest meetings in Chicago – black, white, then black-and-white. The meetings are held to discuss action against police harassment, bad housing, and job discrimination. There are some good moments. A consciously Good Guy police captain attends a meeting and listens to complaints in an interested way which prophesies that nothing will be done about them. A meeting of whites addressed by a Black Panther officer makes dramatically clear (what has been no secret) that, unlike other militant black groups, the Panthers are not dogmatically anti-white. But most of the footage of this "revolution" is just typical community-meeting talk: justified complaint, justified outrage and determination, all ending up with a dozen variations of the question, "OK, but just tell us what we should *do*?"

It is certainly true that people ought not to be forced, by some parliamentary rule, to endure injustice until they have a thoroughly thought-out new program. But if this film does anything – and it doesn't do much – it shows some of the risk that an invertebrate protest runs of degenerating into gas.

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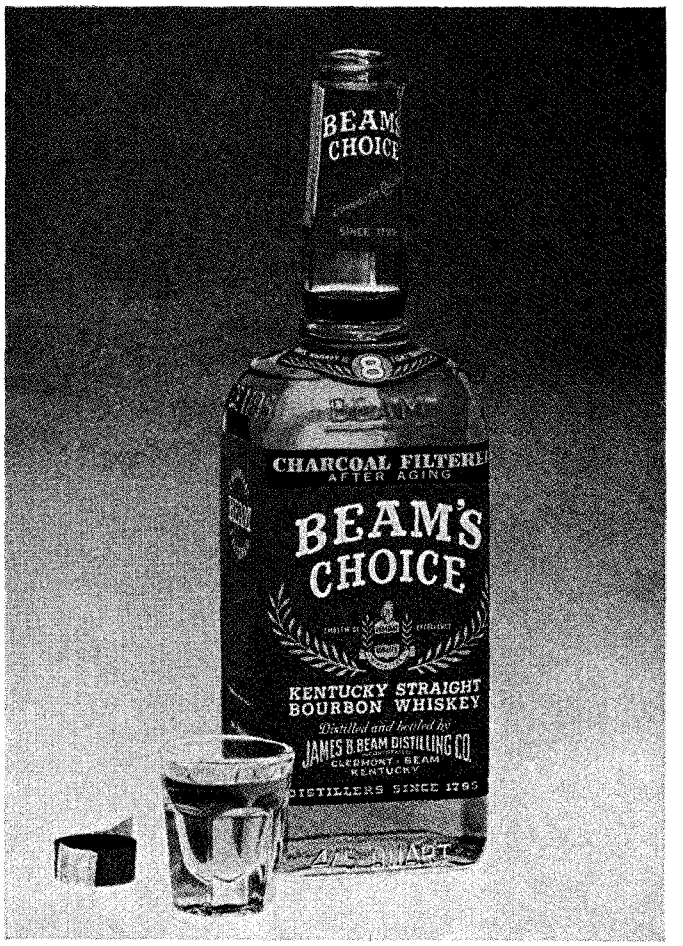

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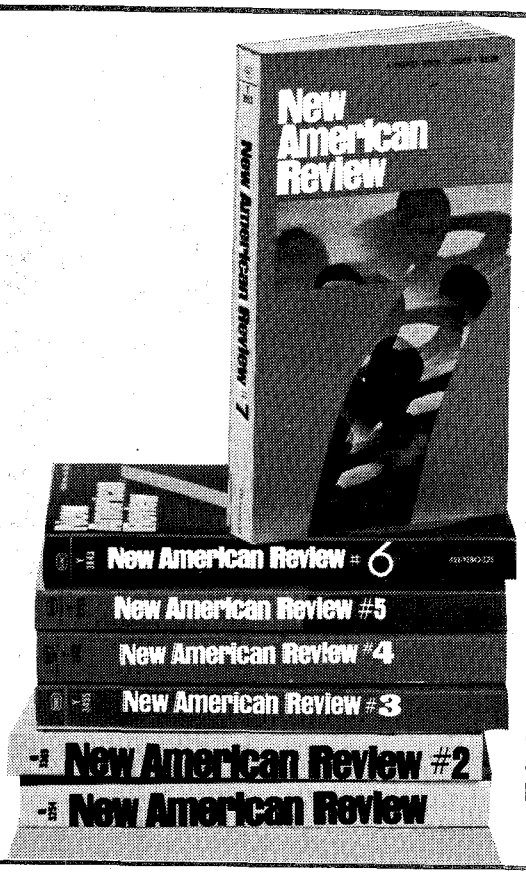

Philip Roth's Portnoy.
Jane Jacobs' cities.
William H. Gass's Holocaust.
Stanley Kauffmann's *Times.*
Eric Salzman's music.

And now Kate Millett's Sexual Politics.

From NEW AMERICAN REVIEW #1, where Portnoy announced his complaint and Stanley Kauffmann explored his experience as drama critic for the *New York Times,* to NEW AMERICAN REVIEW #6, where William H. Gass previewed his extraordinary new novel, where Jane Jacobs explained why our cities stagnate, and composer-critic Eric Salzman why our music has revived, NAR subscribers have been finding that their serious reading catches up with *them.*

Appraising NAR #5 in the *Washington Post,* Geoffrey Wolff wrote: "NEW AMERICAN REVIEW, under the direction of Theodore Solotaroff, continues to thrive, continues to discover and print poems, essays, stories and fragments of novels that are among the best work of our time, much of it by heretofore unknown writers. If the NEW AMERICAN REVIEW has a single signature, it is one of complex and aggressive honesty."

NAR #7 — "the freshness of youth."

The lead piece in the new NAR is probably the most provocative essay we've yet published. It's called "Sexual Politics: Miller, Mailer, and Genet": its author is Kate Millett, a young woman who combines a mean wit with a radical feminist point of view. Subjecting two passages of erotic description by Norman Mailer and Henry Miller to line-by-line analysis, Miss Millett coolly hoists these two "liberated" males by the petards of their own prose. She goes on to argue that much more awareness of the oppressive realities of heterosexual striving and strife can be found, paradoxically enough, in the homosexual world of Jean Genet. This is an essay that will be talked about — heatedly — for a long time to come.

Other examples of "complex and aggressive honesty" in NAR #7 are:

Rosalyn Drexler's "Like . . . ," a backhanded love story from the contemporary underground; "Illumination Rounds," Michael Herr's extraordinary reportage of the surreal warfare in Vietnam; and "Don't You Wish You Were Dead," a shattering story about three disturbed boys, by L. Woiwode.

That would be more than enough for one issue of any journal. But NEW AMERICAN REVIEW is not just any journal. There are also two richly speculative essays by William H. Gass and Benjamin DeMott; timely, articulate verse by 13 poets; five short stories by new writers; and a lengthy, hard-hitting editorial on the current "New York" influence on American writing.

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